Did Indigenism Travel Alongside Muralism from Mexico to Canada? Art Historical Relations Between Mexico, the US and Canada in 20th Century Art

Angela Weber
Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Germany

Resumen: Este artículo considera comparativamente la práctica artística del muralismo y los discursos dentro de la historia del arte sobre el muralismo a mediados del siglo xx en Norteamérica. Analiza la influencia del muralismo mexicano en la práctica del arte mural en los EE.UU. y en Canadá, intentando determinar el rol del concepto del indigenismo mexicano en la expansión de esta fascinación artística. El foco principal del artículo es el discurso del arte canadiense de los décadas 1950 y 1960, proponiendo que existe un cierto influjo mexicano en el valor creciente de las obras de artistas indígenas en Canadá, que empezaron a ser visualmente presentadas a un amplio público nacional e internacional durante la Expo '67 en Montreal.

Palabras clave: Muralismo, indigenismo, discurso de Arte, Canadá, siglo xx.

Abstract: This article considers comparatively the artistic practice of and the art historical discourse surrounding muralism in mid-20th century North America. It analyses the influence of Mexican muralism on US and Canadian mural art practice, wondering whether the concept of Mexican *indigenismo* accompanied this spread of artistic fascination for monumental wall art. The main focus of the article is the Canadian art discourse of the 1950s and 1960s, suggesting that there is a certain Mexican influence on the growing value of indigenous artists' work in Canada, which started to be visibly represented to a large national and international public at Expo '67 in Montreal.

Keywords: Muralism, indigenism, art discourse, Canada, 20th century.

Introduction

While indigenism is a well-established term in Mexican art history, especially associated with 20th century Mexican muralism, and has as such influenced many artists in several Latin American countries, the term is usually not used in the context of 20th century US-American or Canadian art. These two North American countries – the US more so than Canada – are usually far from being perceived as societies with an indigenous past. Nonetheless both countries have in artistic terms a tradition of mural art forms, which are influenced by Mexican muralism. And even if it was not termed that way, 'indigenist' ideas have certainly added to the attraction of this art movement and its identity-creating energies. The encounters of North American modern artists with both real and

imagined aspects of an indigenous past – as expressed on the canvas or, in the case of muralism, on the public mural wall space – can be likewise discussed as inspiration or processes of cultural appropriation. Historically they often mirror an active search for an 'American' – as opposed to 'European' – identity.

Central to this argument remains an observation of the Canadian art discourse of the 1950s and 1960s, the formative decades of late 20th century Canadian national identity, and the ways muralism has been discussed in this context. The idea of investigating the influence of Mexican modern art practice, namely Mexican muralism as linked to indigenism on the Canadian 20th century art world, was motivated by textual sources I encountered in my current research about Indigenous positions in the Canadian art discourse since the 1960s. This research responds with a cultural studies perspective to the reinterpretations of Canadian national art-historical narrative – which have taken place since the late 1980s through the writings of Canadian aboriginal scholars and artists. The following article is meant to suggest that these re-interpretations can occasionally influence perspectives on international art-historical relations as well.

My text is composed of two parts. The first section introduces context and initial questions, followed by a series of four background chapters on (1) Mexican muralism as linked to the notion of Indigenism, (2) the popularity it inspired amongst US-American artists in the 1930s and 1940s, (3) abstraction and muralism and (4) mural traditions in Canada. In the second part I have chosen a broad approach in the observation of Canadian art critiques of the late 1940s to the 1960s, which touch on contemporary mural art practice in Canada, artists' travels between Canada and Mexico, the role of the US-American version of muralism for the developments in Canada, the role of modern architecture, of abstract art and the importance of national outside representation through architecture and art at world expositions, especially at Expo '67 in Montreal. This broadening of the perspective allows for the consideration of different yet often interrelated developments in the art world, which have possibly helped to prepare the growing receptivity for the work of indigenous artists in Canada after 1967.

Three moments of art discourse: North American art stars, Expo '67, and the admiration for Mexican muralism in 20th Century Canadian art discourse

> It would seem Canada needs some art stars, maybe not quite so tragic and complicated as the American master Jackson Pollock, or quite so Marxist and sensual as Diego Rivera, the Mexican master. [...] So it would seem he's needed (Todd 2004: 281).

This unusual quote by Canadian indigenous filmmaker Loretta Todd about one of the most accomplished artists of native ancestry[1] in 20th century Canada, the carver Bill Reid, prompted my deliberation of the famous Mexican muralist Diego Rivera's role in comparative North American art history. The combination of names – Pollock, Rivera and Reid – evokes, apart from their role as 'national art stars' of the respective North American countries (linked to a certain monumentality and a comparatively spectacular artistic process) a further association: they share a role as 'translators' and creators of an artistic bridge into an imagined indigenous 'American' past and present.

Jackson Pollock (1912-1956) is, according to art historian W. Jackson Rushing III, the US American artist who was known in his time to be more influenced by native American art practice than any other of his contemporaries. Rushing's careful analysis of the artistic appropriations of some mid-20th century American artists in "Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde" (1995) shows how Pollock was – since his youth and up till the famous technique of his 'drippings' in the late 1940s – much influenced by both native American historical petroglyphs, which he had seen as a boy, and contemporary art practice, like Navajo sand-painting, witnessed in art exhibitions in New York in the early 1940s (Rushing 1995).

Diego Rivera (1886-1957) and his muralist colleagues of the immediate post-revolutionary period in Mexican history (starting 1919) are well known for their indigenism, inherent in the effort to translate both pre-Columbian art forms and history into 20th century mural painting.

Bill Reid (1921-1998), Canadian jeweller, carver and sculptor of Haida descent, translated not only highly admired 19th century Northwest Coast indigenous design and mythology into contemporary form and thus became the 'hero' of the so-called Northwest Coast Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s (Crosby 2004: 110), but was also commissioned to create some of the most well-known monumental sculptures in Canadian art history and representative popular culture. Four of his works have been depicted

1 In this text the notions 'indigenous' and 'aboriginal' will be used as synonyms; in quotations from the 1960s, the notion 'Indian' is common; 'Artists of Native Ancestry' is a notion which was used by a group of artists in the 1980s (S.C.A.N.A. "Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry") to counter a stereotypical idea of 'Indian Art' which implied not only a purism in 'traditional' artistic technique but also excluded aboriginal artists who were Métis or 'Non-Status-Indians', thus not members of an indigenous group with an official treaty. Concerning the formation of S.C.A.N.A. compare Hill 1989: 13.

between 2004 and 2012[2] on the Canadian 20-Dollar-bill "to specifically highlight Canada's cultural diversity and artistic expression" (Bill Reid Foundation n.d.) (Figure 1).

The way in which Bill Reid and his role in the revival of indigenous artistic practice on the Canadian Pacific coast in the 1960s and 1970s was discussed as 'Native Renaissance' in the Canadian art discourse, led me to look more closely at Diego Rivera as one of the main protagonists of the so-called 'Mexican Renaissance' (comp. Braun 1993: 186). Could Rivera, who has been a role model for many artists in the Americas, North and South, for his open social and political positioning in the public and monumental murals he painted, also be seen as prototype for the (indigenous) 'artist as researcher' – in history, archaeology, ethnology, and folk culture – who is able to revive (indigenous) culture through his or her work?

Figure 1. Canadian 20-Dollar-Bill, picturing four sculptural works of Bill Reid.

The second aspect to motivate my research was the contemporary indigenous art historical research focusing on a series of murals by Canadian indigenous artists at Expo '67 in Montreal as one of the most crucial moments of public awareness towards indigenous art in Canada. A small number of indigenous artists whose work had slowly started to gain attention in different regions of the Canadian art world in the 1960s had been invited to do artistic work for the so-called 'Indians of Canada' Pavilion at Expo '67. The most visible of these art works were murals on the outside walls of the architectural structure (Figure 2).

2 Mirroring the values of the new conservative majority government and their changes in cultural politics, the design of the bill has been changed in 2012 and now depicts a Canadian war memorial from WW I in France.

Figure 2. Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal (photo: Courtesy of the Library and Archives Canada).

Tom Peltier, Canadian indigenous government worker and art education activist, describes the importance of his experiences with the indigenous artists working at Expo '67 for the initiatives in indigenous art education and cultural politics of the following years (Peltier 2007: 56). Expo '67's influence on Canadian indigenous art history has in recent years also been stressed at the 2011 annual conference of the Aboriginal Curatorial Collective, an association of contemporary aboriginal curators, "Revisioning the Indians of Canada Pavilion: Ahzhekewada [Let us look back]",[3] as well as in Canadian art historian Ruth Phillips' 2011 compilation "Museum pieces. Toward the indigenization of Canadian museums" (Phillips & Brydon 2011). Indigenous Canadian curator Lee-Ann Martin links the events at Expo '67 with Canada's search for a national identity: "Canada was enjoying a renewed sense of identity and the art of the country's Indigenous peoples quickly became symbolic of this newfound nationalism" (Martin 2010: 371-372).

3 Compare Aboriginal Curatorial Collective 2011; publication of the contributions is forthcoming.

Is it coincidence, I wondered, that this starting point of contemporary indigenous artists' presence in a larger public in Canada consisted of murals? Did the two most admired features of muralism – the artwork's social and public function and its monumentality –work to the indigenous artists' favour here? How had the Canadian public been prepared for this? And what role did the murals' degree of abstraction play in 1967?

The third and central aspect to consider for my research was a series of articles in the Canadian Art magazine[4] of the 1950s and 1960s reporting murals in Canada and the influence of Mexican art. The articles were often illustrated with a picture of the respective mural and occasionally the artist at work. Some texts hint directly or indirectly at Mexican teachers or inspiration in the arts of muralism. Another set of articles, starting in the mid-1950s, focuses on abstract muralism in its relation to modern architecture, hinting to contemporary Mexico (Figure 3).

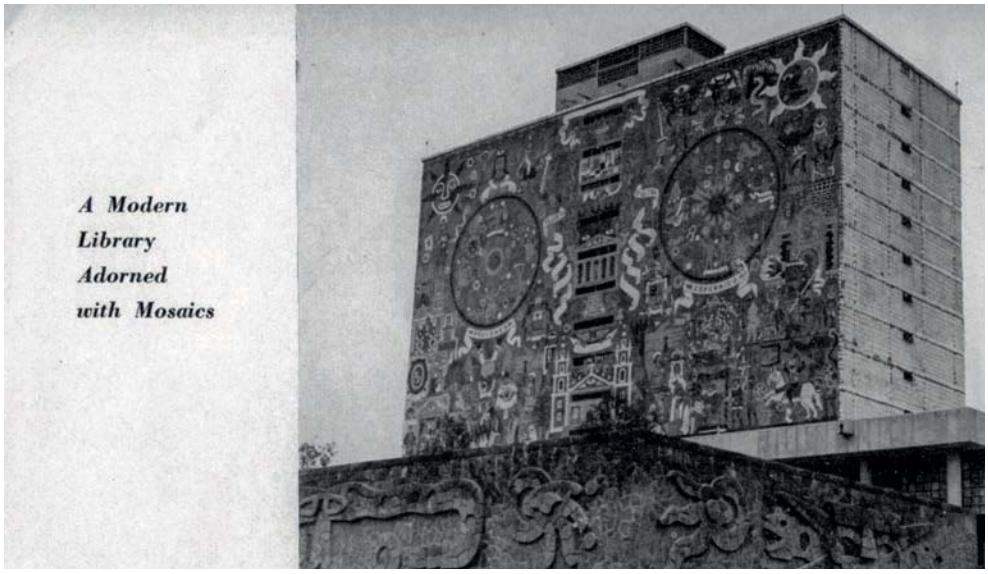

Figure 3. Juan O'Gorman: Outside Walls of University Library at Mexico City; figure and accompanying title ("A Modern Library Adorned with Mosaics") in Buchanan (1953a: 57).

While the Canadian art historian Donald W. Buchanan still writes in 1953 in reference to Mexican cultural politics "that we certainly haven't yet reached the stage in Canada where we dare, as the Mexicans do, to bring in our own artists to devise new and more

4 Canadian Art, founded in 1943 as the first Anglo-Canadian art magazine, and renamed *artscanada* in 1967, was the major Anglo-Canadian art journal until the art scene widened in the 1980s.

indigenous means of bringing colour to contemporary facades" (Buchanan 1953b: 66) the public art-funding efforts start to change during the late 1950s and the 1960s. With Canada's role in the world visibly growing in importance, reflections about the outside representation of the country through art become an equally growing concern in the Canadian art discourse. In the 1960s, as Canada prepares for its national centennial celebration in 1967 and Expo '67 in Montreal, Buchanan's dreams of the early 1950s seem to materialize in a large series of publicly funded exuberant architectural and design projects. Was the Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67 one of them? Did anybody remember those roots which might have linked it to a previous fascination for Mexican architecture and art? Did anybody reflect at the time whether or how the Mexican state-supported concept of indigenism translated into a Canadian context?

Background I: Mexican muralism in the context of indigenism

In art history Mexican muralism is considered to be the most original of 20th century art phenomenon which derived from Latin America and found a large repercussion in the international art world (Lucie-Smith 1997: 13). This popularity, both in formal and political terms, is indebted mainly to a small group of Mexican painters (Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, José Clemente Orozco, among others) and the historical context in which they were commissioned to do their first mural works immediately after the Mexican revolution (1910-1919). Inspired by the literary and intellectual phenomenon of Latin American *indigenismo* in the late 19th and early 20th century, José Vasconcelos, the first minister of education in post-revolutionary Mexico, counted on the artists' strength of imagery to depict the ideals of the revolution and stress the importance of pre-Columbian Mesoamerican indigenous values for modern Mexican mestizo society. The murals were part of an educational campaign in a country with a large percentage of illiterates and provided a new interpretation of the people's history in large colourful paintings inside and outside of public (mostly old colonial) buildings (Einfeldt 2010: 43ff).

Mexican muralism, forming part of what came to be called the Mexican Renaissance, departed from former mural traditions in art history (Renaissance, Baroque, historicism) by incorporating socialist and indigenist ideals. Even though the fresco techniques used were mainly transferred from European (Italian) Renaissance techniques (Lucie-Smith 1997: 18-19),[5] its ideological origin was perceived in pre-Columbian monumental murals, sculptures and architecture. Modern art elements included cubist, expressionist and surrealist inspiration and the fascination with non-European abstract art. In order to produce art which would be understandable to the masses, these tendencies of abstraction were mostly subordinated though to figurative and real-

5 Diego Rivera had lived in Paris since 1908 and painted in vicinity to cubist art circles. In 1919/20, before returning to Mexico, he traveled to Italy to study Renaissance mural techniques.

ist compositions (Lucie-Smith 1997: 53-54). In her detailed study in "Pre-Columbian art in a Post-Columbian world" (1993) art historian Barbara Braun shows how Diego Rivera incorporated form and aspects of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican objects of art and worldview in his murals.

Throughout his career he continuously studied archaeological and historic pictorial sources as well as folk art to find the form language for his large murals representing accounts of pre-Columbian and post-Columbian Mexican history (Braun 1993: 228ff). Braun interprets Rivera's work virtually as a fulfilment of contemporary Mexican archaeologists' indigenist call for the aesthetic recognition of pre-Columbian art (Braun 1993: 242, 247). Rivera became one of the most important collectors of pre-Columbian objects deriving from the continual excavations in 20th century Mexico and built his own museum to house this collection in Mexico City, which was opened to the public in 1955. According to Braun the collection is distinguished through

> [...] the nationalist and instrumental imperatives of Mexican indigenism that informed it. With the intention to affirm and disseminate the value of native art traditions and benefit his fellow countrymen, he created a museum to house his collection, which he called Anahuacalli (house of the Valley of Mexico, in Nahuatl), and eventually donated it to the state. Its portal is inscribed (in Spanish): 'I give back to my people that which they can rescue from the artistic legacy of their ancestors' (Braun 1993: 235).

In the 1950s some large public architectural projects in Mexico combined expressions of national identity and artistic indigenism. Two symbols for the Pan-American messages of Mexican indigenism had previously been Diego Rivera's mural "Pan-American Unity" (1939) at the San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition (Braun 1993: 219) and the foundation of the Interamerican Indigenist Institute in 1940 in Mexico City. Yet indigenism as influential component in both the cultural as well as the political processes of 20th century, Mexican nationalism has also been controversially discussed, mainly because of the assimilation it finally expected from indigenous groups to the new national project, and underlying processes of appropriation (Lucie-Smith 1997: 9ff; Kastl 1998). A similar controversy overshadows the fascination with pre-Columbian and native American art in an US-American context: Anthropologist Christian F. Feest points to the processes of land appropriation in times of 'nativist' movements and heightened interest in indigenous art (Feest 1991: 139). Even though it has not been called indigenism, in certain periods of US-American history – namely after the two World Wars, and thus in times of active re-definition as 'American' nation, pre-Columbian civilizations as well as North American indigenous cultures were of larger political and formal interest (Feest 1991: 139).

Background II: Muralism in the US

Mexican muralism entered the consciousness of the art public in the English-speaking countries to the north in several ways, and left an immediate strong impression on many artists and intellectuals, who admired the political and cultural ideals of the Mexican revolution. Young US-American art students travelled to Mexico City between 1923 and 1927 to watch the progress of Diego Rivera's 117 fresco murals for the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* and some were given the chance to join in the process. After 1929 Rivera received a number of mural commissions for US-American public and corporate buildings, and already in 1931 the Museum of Modern Art in New York had a retrospective show of his work. In 1930 José Clemente Orozco painted his famous mural "Table of Universal Brotherhood" at the New School for Social Research, New York, and David Alfaro Siqueiros, who moved to New York in 1936, led a small group of experimental young painters, amongst them Jackson Pollock (Lucie-Smith 1997: 57ff). Mexican muralism also had a strong influence on the so-called regionalists or American Scene artists like Thomas Hart Benton, even though their approaches differed politically (Berman 1980: 363). Amongst the US-American art public, Mexican muralists were applauded as translators of European Renaissance tradition into the 'possibilities' of the 20th century. They were seen as models for monumental public art, technique and expression. "The Mexicans", wrote painter Geoffrey Norman, "have opened our eyes to the possibilities of muralism" (quoted from O'Connor in Berman 1980: 363).

Muralism came to an unprecedented popularity in the US when Roosevelt's New Deal-politics – answering to the high unemployment after the 1929 economic crisis – included a state funded program, the Federal Art Project (FAP) as part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), to employ artists with large mural projects in public buildings such as post offices, hospitals, schools and universities (Berman 1980: 361ff; O'Connor 1980: 453ff). The origins of these state-funded programs can be directly traced to the awareness of US-American painters and politicians of the identity politics involved in the sensational Mexican mural programs of the post-revolution decade in the 1920s (O'Connor 1980: 453ff) The employed artists created over 2500 murals in public spaces all over the country in a variety of styles, from regionalism, to surrealism to abstract art (O'Connor 1980: 461). Even though many of the artists had sympathies for leftist political ideas and organized themselves in the Artists Union, few of the murals outspokenly expressed political opinions, especially when compared to the open political struggles of the working class and Mexican peasants visible in Rivera's work. According to Greta Berman (1980) the influence of Mexican muralism was more evident through the adoption of a modern, cubist form language applied to the narrative realistic contents of the images than an open recognition of communist ideas and critique of capitalism (Berman 1980: 363).

Many of the FAP murals were painted over again in the years during and after the Second World War, but the importance of the Federal Art Project for US-American art history remained. Even some artists who later worked as Abstract Expressionists, like Jackson Pollock, had started their professional career in connection with New Deal-art projects. The public character of the artworks, removed from their usual museum setting, had made fine arts 'popular' for the first time in North American history (Berman 1980: 371).

Muralism itself experienced a revival in the 1960s and 1970s when the protests against the Vietnam war and other political activities brought forward a new need for public forms of art, just as the world economic crisis had done in the 1930s (Berman 1980: 371). Starting in some North American cities like New York and Los Angeles, the painting of outside house walls evolved with new techniques of spray paint – which had again been partly developed by Mexican artists – into new styles of Graffiti art.

The depiction of American indigenous history and cultures in the FAP murals was rare compared to Mexican muralism. Many of the murals have been social and historical documentations of working conditions, local industries or agriculture and everyday life in the 1930s in the United States (Berman 1980: 369). Some indigenous painters participated in FAP/WPA mural projects (Feest 1991: 143), and US-American muralism indeed confirmed those artists, who perceived indigenous cultures not as extraneous but as part of the legitimate roots of American civilization. Themes of indigenous historical culture or Métis history during the (partly French-colonial) fur-trade era surfaced in some murals in schools, post offices or national park cottages, which often depicted the local history of the respective town or settlement (De Long & Narber 1982).

Background III: US-American abstract art between politics and indigenous inspiration

Some FAP artists introduced abstract elements into their murals, even though the majority of the works was purposely realized as figurative paintings in order to be understandable to the masses of people. A few of these painters, like Lee Krasner or William de Kooning, later became successful in the first generation of American abstract artists after the Second World War (Berman 1980: 368). The abstract mural painter Stuart Davis theorized the experience of the abstract artistic process in his essay "Abstract Art Today – Democracy and Reaction" as

> an integrated part of the changing reality of today, [...] an immediate progressive social force [...] [which] has lent the exact artistic expression to the velocities and the spaces, which are real in an unique way in our time (quoted from O'Connor in Berman 1980: 367-368).

His definition of abstract art as a holistic expression of space as well as a counter pole to the destructive forces of totalitarism (here referring to Nazi Germany) precedes an art-historical discussion of the post-war years and the beginning Cold War which

increasingly associated realist painting with socialist realism and Stalinist totalitarism and abstraction with democracy and freedom (Gilbeaut 1983).[6]

While young North American artists had admired European modernists for their achievements in abstract art for much of the first half of the 20th century, the orientation to Paris as the centre of the international art world changed radically during the Second World War with the Nazi occupation of Paris in 1940 and the subsequent arrival of many exiled contemporary European artists in New York and a few other US-American art centres. The following years were marked by the effort of US-American art protagonists to adapt quickly to New York's new role as international art centre, and by a partly politically motivated shift towards abstraction in the arts. This process happened in a very conscious middle-ground between European modernist influence and native American culture as well as pre-Columbian art as inspiration (Rushing 1995). A famous quote gives testimony of one of the European newcomers' fascination with abstraction in pre-Columbian American art: "Mexico is indeed the promised land of abstract art, because here it is thousands of years old, and still very lively in folk art",[7] Josef Albers, exiled German Bauhaus artist wrote to Wassily Kandinsky in 1936, the year he travelled for the first time to Mexico with his wife Anni Albers – also a former Bauhaus teacher and modernist weaver. Josef Albers, who became one of the most influential art educators in post-war USA, also started in 1950 to build commissioned public murals, which translated abstract form from Mexican temples to modern relief wall design (Helfenstein & Mentha 1998: 118ff).

Background IV: Muralist traditions in Canada

The variety of more or less visible layers of muralist traditions in contemporary Canadian public space reflects both international influences from such 19th and 20th century art centres as London, Paris, New York, San Francisco and Mexico City as well as from different Canadian art movements. Turn of the (19th/20th) century wall paintings in Canadian legislative buildings were often realized in British historicist style. Especially in Quebec a long tradition of sacral mural paintings inside French Catholic churches has occasionally been added to by 20th century mural artists, some of which worked in a special Italian-Canadian style. The National Gallery of Canada exhibits in its Canadian Galleries prominently the only communally realized mural project of three Group of Seven-painters from 1915/16 – the MacCallum-Jackman Cottage-Mural – which

6 For this political discussion in the 1950s in Mexico see Einfeldt (2010: 204).

7 Translation by the author of a German quote in Helfenstein & Mentha (eds.) 1998: "Mexiko ist wirklich das gelobte Land der abstrakten Kunst, denn hier ist sie 1000de von Jahren alt. Und noch sehr lebendig in der Volkskunst." (77) Brief an W. Kandinsky, 22.08.1936, Autograph Fonds Nina Kandinsky, Musée National d'Art Moderne.

has been inspired by the English Arts and Crafts movement's ideal of integrating art and architecture. A series of murals inside the British Columbia legislative building in Victoria from 1932 depicts scenes of early provincial history and is probably reminiscent of figurative Mexican and Californian murals of the time. Its paternalistic and exoticizing depiction of indigenous people has been subject though to a severe controversy with First Nations critics since the 1980s (comp. Wikipedia: British Columbia Parliament Buildings). The wall reliefs in Toronto subway stations of the 1950s appear to be as influenced by the regionalist traditions of US-American FAP murals as some faded outside murals in small prairie towns like Brandon, Manitoba, depicting regional agricultural life. Some cities have developed a vivid scene of – partly publicly sponsored – outside community murals, such as Montreal, Pembrook, Thunder Bay, Winnipeg or Regina. Murals of recent years have been funded by such diverse sponsors as the local government in Montreal, companies like Manitoba Hydro in Winnipeg, the Métis Nation of Ontario in Thunder Bay (Figure 4) or the previous provincial government of Saskatchewan (NDP) (Figure 5). Finally, commissioned and non-commissioned graffiti murals frequently cover side walls of houses or decorate youth- or adventure-related businesses or bars and restaurants.

Figure 4. Mural outside the Métis Community Centre, Thunder Bay, Ontario (photo: Angela Weber, 2012).

Museums, universities and cultural centres have a long tradition of commissioning inside and outside murals as well, sometimes they are figurative, sometimes, and especially after the 1950s and 1960s, they are abstract, occasionally they are realized by aboriginal artists, like Alex Janvier's "Morningstar" (1993) inside the Canadian Museum of Civilization. One of the most exuberant large scale public art works in Canada of the recent years is the translation of an abstract painting by Canadian painter Alfred Pellan (1906-1988) into a large scale colour-changing 'digital mural', installed by the city of Montreal in the underground hallways of the new central Place des Arts in 2011 (Figure 6).

Observing the Canadian art discourse of the late 1940s and early 1950s: Reports about murals and hints to Mexico

Observing the Canadian art discourse as represented in the art magazine Canadian Art/artscanada in the first decades after the Second World War, one might surmise the art world's interest in the newly painted murals in post-war Canada. Occasional short articles and notes, partly by the artists themselves, describe where a mural has been executed and by whom, who has commissioned it, whether a private, corporate or public sponsor.

Figure 5. Roger Jerome: "Northern Tradition and Transition" (2005), mural inside the Legislative Building, Regina, Saskatchewan (photo: Angela Weber, 2012).

Figure 6. Colour-changing electric billboards after a painting by Alfred Pellan, Centre des Arts, Montreal, Quebec (photo: Angela Weber, 2012).

Links to Mexico are mentioned in some contexts, yet the description of most murals suggests that they might have been as influenced by US-American regionalist style as directly by Mexican artists' work (compare e.g. artist André Bieler's illustrated article about his "Mural of the Saguenay", Bieler 1951-52). Three articles from 1949, 1951 and 1953 directly describe Canadian artists' experiences in Mexico:

In 1949 an interview is published on the occasion of Mexican muralist José Clemente Orozco's death between art historian Robert Ayre and artist Stanley Cosgrove, one of the few Canadians who had had the chance to paint with this Mexican 'master' (Cosgrove & Ayre 1949-50). Cosgrove had spent two years in the early 1940s in Mexico and worked with Orozco on one of his murals. In 1948 he had then conducted classes in fresco painting through the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Montreal. A fascination about the "big space" of the mural paintings and "the demands wall-painting makes on the painter" surfaces in the interview (Cosgrove & Ayre 1949-50: 65). Answering to a question about the history of the Mexican Renaissance, Cosgrove replies:

> I don't think Renaissance is the word. Dr. Atl might have liked it but Orozco, I know, didn't. It wasn't a rebirth. It was something new, the sudden flowering of Mexico's consciousness [...] (Cosgrove & Ayre 1949-50: 63).[8]

The October 1951 issue of "Canadian Art" contains a short note by the editors about the artist Leonard Brooks who provided "for some years [...] a link between Canadian and Mexican art" by living, painting and teaching in Mexico (Canadian Art 1951: 40). The note focuses on a new Canadian scholarship for the Instituto Allende, an art school founded in 1938 in San Miguel de Allende, 200 kilometres northwest of Mexico City, where Brooks taught and which attracted students from Canada for both regular and summer courses. By 1966 May Ebbitt Cutler describes San Miguel de Allende as "one of the world's most famous art colonies", where "thousand Americans and Canadians [...] go [...] annually" to take classes in painting, sculpture, writing, photography, graphics, textile design, weaving, ceramics, silverwork, Mexican history and Spanish language (Cutler 1966: 26).

In 1953 a slightly longer note is dedicated to Arnold Belkin, a young painter from Vancouver, and his career in Mexico, where he had studied mural painting at the National Polytechnical Institute in Mexico City (Canadian Art 1953: 84). He also became involved with anthropology, did field excursions to many parts of Mexico, was for eight months assistant of Siqueiros, worked on his murals, and learned the value of multiple points of view for mural painting from this master. The short article ends with the hope of the young artist that he will, after his return to Canada in December 1952, find wall space "upon which to exercise his talents" (Canadian Art 1953: 84).[9]

Observing the Canadian art discourse of the 1950s: Essays on modern architecture and abstract murals

Following the question whether Mexican indigenist ideas possibly entered the Canadian art discourse alongside muralism, it is a series of Canadian Art articles from between 1953 and 1957 about contemporary Canadian murals as related to modern architecture which provide some of the most interesting insights. The articles mirror an inspiration by Mexico's representative architectural and mural projects of the 1950s, Canadian consciousness of an 'own' indigenous artistic culture, the new fascination for abstraction in the arts and the need for the outside representation of Canada at world fairs.

---

8 Dr. Atl (1875-1964) was a Mexican artist who prepared the ideas of muralism in the decade before the Mexican Revolution.

9 Belkin didn't stay long in Canada and eventually moved back to Mexico, where he executed several murals in the following years, designed costumes for the Mexican theatre and ballet, and taught as professor of mural techniques at the Universidad de las Americas. In 1963 he was one of four artists representing Mexico at the International Award Exhibition in the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York (comp. Wikipedia: Arnold Belkin).

In autumn 1953 art critic René Boux writes in his article "Contemporary mural painting from Western Canada": "Modern architecture, especially the severely functional forms we find in contemporary schools and small office buildings, seems to demand decorative relief such as can be given through murals or sculpture" (Boux 1953). He introduces the mural work of Jack L. Shadbolt, who painted large scale abstract murals in Vancouver in 1952 and 1953 and quotes the artists' recent decision to work in a completely abstract instead of figurative style:

> We do not build buildings now with that same belief in their permanence which previously assured the artist about the enduring existence and meaning of his work. [...] In theme, too, we have no conviction about a set of durable symbols in which our whole society has a common belief, nor a sense of permanence in mythology which could produce a stability of style. [...] The Mexicans appear to be the only ones who have produced the social mural in our time and for the obvious reason that their society has been fused end to end with a collective sociological-political urge that needed common public statement (Boux 1953: 25-26).

In Shadbolt's opinion FAP/WPA mural projects done before the war did not have the power to outlast their period for having been too doctrinaire, too graphic, with a symbolism which is "not detached but too immediate" (Boux 1953: 26). The acceptance of temporariness and of "change as our norm" allowed him "to cease thinking of the mural only in epic terms, with all their consequent problems, and to focus on the personal, intimate and lyrical aspects" (Boux 1953: 27).

Also in 1953 Donald W. Buchanan, co-editor of the Canadian Art magazine at the time and design advocate at the National Gallery of Canada, writes two large and well illustrated articles about murals and modern architecture. In his essay "New murals and mosaics in Mexico" he describes impressions of a recently conducted journey to Mexico, above all of the new *Ciudad Universitaria* on the outskirts of Mexico City, where "Mexican architects, muralists and sculptors have forged what, in this day and age, is an unexpected unity of achievement" (Buchanan 1953a: 54). Buchanan's description of the structures he has witnessed – partly still in construction (Figure 3) – reveals his admiration of this "unity in diversity" (Buchanan 1953a: 55). He concludes:

> When will a similar attempt be launched in Canada? It is high time, at least, that an experimental beginning was made. Which among the governments and the many rich industries and commercial firms in this country will be the first to commission such a mural, not for an inner room or hall but for the exterior itself of a new bank or school, an office structure or library? Those startingly blank concrete surfaces, so often to be found in our contemporary buildings, present a challenge to artists and architects alike (Buchanan 1953a: 56).

In Buchanan's second 1953 article "Recent murals in Canada" he asserts that in matters of fostering and financing co-operation between painters and architects "official Canada stands completely opposed to official Mexico" (Buchanan 1953b: 64) and thus tries to

draw attention to what he perceives as a few successful exceptions in this neglected field of artistic practice in Canada.

Two years later, in 1955, the leading role of Vancouver as a new Canadian centre for contemporary art as related to architecture is linked to an indigenous influence in an article by Robert Hamilton Hubbard "A climate for the arts" (Hubbard 1955). According to the author's impression, the modern developments in architecture which are due to prosperity and expansion of the city show "no resistance to contemporary modes of design. [...] Houses are being built in impressive numbers in the contemporary idiom" (Hubbard 1955: 101). Next to the three main art related institutions, the Vancouver School of Art, the UBC School of Architecture and the Vancouver Art Gallery, he acknowledges Northwest Coast indigenous art as one major impulse on the contemporary art movement:

> The movement did not emerge full-fledged this year or last. But even its remotest origins are not very far removed from the present day, for West Coast Indian art reached the height of its development less than a century ago (Hubbard 1955: 100).

Hubbard found that some of the most interesting houses in Vancouver are owned by architects and painters, e.g. Jack Shadbolt's house (Figure 7), and integrate a variety of mural design. Again the author relates this feature of the Vancouver art scene to an indigenous influence, as absorbed through Shadbolt:

> In painting as in architecture the main characteristics are a youthful vigour and originality. Along with originality goes a unity of style, a unanimity of purpose, that is remarkable in the face of the modern passion for individuality and that seems to denote an admirable modesty and seriousness on the part of the artist. The style itself, derived largely from the example and teaching of Jack Shadbolt, is a sort of abstraction based on organic forms [...]. What has made the difference, however, is the appearance over the past few years of an elemental power in Shadbolt's work. This vital energy, this animal strength, he owes more than a little to his early contacts with West Coast Indian art and with Emily Carr in his native Victoria (Hubbard 1955: 104).[10]

In 1957, another of Buchanan's articles, "Best foot forward in Brussels", reveals how much his perception on Canadian architecture and art was increasingly formed by the idea of his country's outside representation through its achievements in the fine arts. Commenting on the approved design for the Canadian Pavilion at the Universal and International Exhibition in Brussels in 1958, he starts with the words:

---

10 The notion of animal strength here evokes indigenous concepts of animal-human power transfer or even human-animal transformation as common in Northwest Coast indigenous narrative and art. The cover of this spring 1955 issue of Canadian Art featured probably for the first time a design by a First Nations artist: the painting Na'Nis – Sea Bear – by Mungo Martin with one page of text by anthropologist Audrey E. Hawthorn (UBC Museum of Anthropology) explaining "The story behind our cover" (Hawthorn 1955).

> We are a rich and progressive nation, independent in political relationships and supposedly no longer derivative in the arts. Certainly we have been priding ourselves on our artistic maturity for quite a while now, yet sometimes when it has become a question of participating in cultural manifestations abroad we have too often hesitated to put out best selves forward. On the credit side, there is the work the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission has been doing in erecting properly designed Canadian displays in all the world's various trade fairs (Buchanan 1957: 64).

Figure 7. A corner of the house of artist Jack Shadbolt in Vancouver with one of his murals on the upper wall at right (Hubbard 1955: 99).

Considering the high numbers of possible visitors to the Canadian pavilion in Brussels (an estimated five million), Buchanan stresses the importance of a country's investment in the pavilion's design and artistic displays: It is the architecture and outside design of a pavilion which will attract "the crowds to stop and enter" (Buchanan 1957: 66), when in the entire fair a variety of some fifty 'competing' national pavilions will try to impress the visitors with their presentations. Buchanan is delighted with the architectonic concept. Central to the modern pavilion constructed in steel and glass is the plan for a three-dimensional mural wall by Montreal based sculptor Louis Archambault

and industrial designer Norman Slater. This free-standing metal construction, with terracotta panels depicting symbolically in an abstracted style the peoples and provinces of Canada, is designed to be "running partly within the open court of the building and partly without". It replaces the concept of a monumental entrance to the pavilion: "Art", the government committee in charge of Canadian participation to the Fair agreed, "should be our first gesture to the public of the world in Brussels" (Buchanan 1957: 66).

Towards Expo '67 at Montreal

World exhibitions are usually not considered to be art exhibitions, even though they often include large art exhibitions as one element and their impression on the artists of the time is as undeniable as is the importance of individual commissions for artists in the frame of their respective national pavilions or the money which is accessible for large-scale artistic projects. Mural commissions have been popular at world fairs since the late 19th century in Europe and in North America especially since the success of Mexican muralism (Chicago 1933, San Francisco 1939, New York 1939). In 1937, Pablo Picasso painted his famous Guernica mural for the Spanish pavilion at the world exhibition in Paris. In 1939/40 Diego Rivera realized with a group of WPA/FAP artists the fresco "Pan-American Unity" at the San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition (Braun 1993: 219). Examples of American pre-Columbian monumental architecture could be seen at many fairs since the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago 1893, when a full-size plaster cast of ruins of Maya architecture was built: The great portal of Labná and three structures from Uxmal (c. A.D. 700-1000), which greatly impressed visitors and had an effect on further archaeological endeavours of US-Americans in Mexico (Braun 1993:139). At the world exposition in Paris in 1889 Mexico's pavilion took the form of a reconstructed Aztec palace in pyramid shape, adorned with architectural ornaments derived from several different pre-Columbian cultures (Einfeldt 2010: 27ff).

The 1967 world exposition in Montreal was not only the first one to take place in Canada and therefore anticipated with unusual excitement, but it also coincided with the centennial celebrations of the Canadian Confederation of 1867. The wealthy decade of the 1960s was thus an important time for the construction of national identity in Canada, visibly taking shape in architectural projects for Expo '67 and at other locations all over the country. Moshe Safdie's holistic architectural project for urban living Habitat became the key symbol of the Montreal fair. Originally planned as a pyramid of pre-fabricated housing units, Safdie's architecture fit well into a landscape of pyramid and tent-like pavilions in modernist style which can be seen on photographs of the Expo grounds (Figure 8). Expo '67 came to be an unprecedented opportunity for the artistic professions in Canada, especially architects, exhibition designers and sculptors.

Figure 8. Expo '67, Montreal. On the left in the background Moshe Safdie's "Habitat", on the right Indians of Canada Pavilion in the background to the left (photos by Michel Proulx in: *artscanada* 108 (1967): 5).

Murals on the outside of the Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67

An equally great opportunity for indigenous people arose from the decision of federal officials, to set up a separate pavilion dedicated to the "Indians of Canada" (Figure 2) including the involvement of indigenous peoples in the planning process of the pavilion, its artistic program and the development of the presentation's storyline. Even though neglected by art-historical research for a long time, the stories of the artists involved in this process have been remembered not only in oral history, but also early on through the artists' biographies and through indigenous media like the magazine TAWOW as moments of empowerment for a growing "Pan-Indianism" of the late 1960s (Sioui 1970). "These are not stories that can easily be found in art-historical discourse", wrote Cheyanne Turions in her review of the 2011 Aboriginal Curatorial Collective annual meeting, which was dedicated to the idea of re-visioning the Indians of Canada Pavilion (Turions 2012). According to Turions, one of the main features recalled at this occasion was the activist nature of the pavilion and its planning process. The finished pavilion honestly signalled in an interior exhibition to Canada and the world that indigenous peoples had no reason for "celebrating a One Hundredth Birthday, as are White Canadians",[11] yet it still con-

11 Minutes of the First Meeting of the Indian Advisory Council, Ottawa, March 14-17, 1966, (Kanien'kehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Centre files, [KRCC]), quoted in Phillips & Brydon 2011: 27, footn. 2.

veyed, according to Phillips and Brydon, a sense of "survival of traditions and beliefs in the face of great odds" – expressed most vibrantly by the contemporary Indian art works commissioned for the pavilion's exterior (Phillips & Brydon 2011: 27). The architecture consisted of a centre piece in form of a tall vertically stretched tipi, around which some shorter building parts were assembled. One of these resembled a modernist Northwest Coast longhouse and was painted with a large mural by George Clutesi, a Tseshaht artist from British Columbia, based on the tradition of Northwest Coast indigenous house front painting. A monumental totem pole carved by Kwakwaka'wakw carvers Henry and Tony Hunt topped this part of the pavilion. Two more large murals by already well-known Anishinaabe painter Norval Morrisseau (with his assistant Carl Ray) and Francis Kagige from Manitoulin Island filled further exterior walls of the pavilion, as well as a series of five smaller round panel paintings by Chipewyan artist Alex Janvier from Alberta, Noel Wuttunee, a Plains Cree artist from Saskatchewan, Gerald Tailfeathers, Kanai (Blood) from Alberta, Ross Woods, Lakota from Manitoba and Tom Hill, Seneca from Ontario (in cooperation with Huron ceramic artist Jean-Marie Gros-Louis).

The choice of artists and their works was meant to articulate the cultural diversity of indigenous artistic traditions in Canada, countering the stereotype of homogeneous "indianness" (Phillips & Brydon 2011: 35). The murals were figurative rather than abstract, yet drawing formally on traditional graphic style, and in their content mirroring oral mythological traditions and spiritual concepts. The message was meant to be one of survival of traditional spirituality (Phillips & Brydon 2011: 35). The round panels all displayed abstract, partly geometric compositions, derived from historic bead- and quillwork traditions. From a distance they

> "could be read as abstract compositions, inviting comparison with the late modernist minimalist, hard-edge, and colourfield styles that dominated the mainstream art centres of New York and Toronto during the late 1960s" (Phillips & Brydon 2011: 36).

This use of modernist abstract styles sent, in Phillips and Brydon's words, "messages about the readiness of Aboriginal artists to participate in the world of contemporary fine art" (Phillips & Brydon 2011: 36). Yet while relating to real historic traditions and thus diverging from the "avantgarde postures of rupture with tradition that had been fundamental to western modernist art since the beginning of the twentieth century", Phillips and Brydon perceive in the Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67 "the beginning of a shift, that would lead both Indigenous and non-Indigenous contemporary artists to produce explicitly referential works of political, social, and spiritual critique in the years that followed" (Phillips & Brydon 2011: 36). Cheyanne Turions concludes – referring to poet Duke Redbird's position in a 2011 discussion:

> In recalling the spirit of the time, Redbird pointed out that Expo '67 – coinciding as it did with Canada's Centennial – was designed as the fulcrum point for a new Canada. The Indians of Canada pavilion intended to directly address the complex realities of the relationships between Aboriginals and Western settlers – both historical and contemporary – in a way that would prepare the country for a utopic future relationship. Unfortunately, much of the critical energy of this moment dissipated along with the dismantling of the pavilion at the end of the fair. But, critical groundwork had been laid for recognizing and valuing Canadian Aboriginal culture in a national and international context (Turions 2012).

Conclusion

After Expo '67 and especially since the mid-1970s several artists of Native ancestry received commissions for large-scale architecture-related works in Canada: Bill Reid with his sculptures and reliefs, Daphne Odjig (Figure 10), and Alex Janvier to name the most important ones. The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67, as a formative moment of indigenous cultural-political activism seems to have met – next to a changing political climate in Canada[12] – with

(1) the receptivity in the Canadian art discourse for modern architecture and abstract design, along with an admiration for monumentality of art works and the chances to work in large scale through a growing state-funding effort and

(2) a growing sensibility towards the role of fine arts for a national identity and for the outside representation of a country.

The emerging post-colonial discussion in Canada additionally brought about an interest in the artist as narrator and researcher of both indigenous mythology and a newly interpreted history. Even though in the discussion about Northwest Coast or native Renaissance of the 1970s in Canada (comp. e.g. Vastokas 1975) I have not found conscious references to the Mexican Renaissance of almost half a century earlier, I would like to suggest that certain aspects of indigenism inherent in Mexican 20th century artistic practice and art discourse have inspired a number of Canadian artists, and probably even more so some Canadian art critics, art historians and cultural politicians of the post-World War II decades – sometimes by detour through the US-American art discourse. These inspirations seemed to have travelled only to a certain degree alongside the phenomenon of figurative muralism, but more so as related to architecture and its allied arts: abstract murals and sculpture, and an admiration for indigenous crafts and historical art forms as well as their containment in newly erected Mexican museums and other state-funded public buildings.

1. Muralism. Even though the Canadian art discourse of the late 1940s and early 1950s mirrors a certain admiration for the execution of large-scale murals in different Canadian cities, the character of the described commissions appears mostly to be region-

12 Election of Pierre E. Trudeau (Liberal Party) as Prime Minister of Canada in 1968; politics of multiculturalism since 1971.

alist, possibly influenced by the FAP/WPA mural projects in the US. Some Canadian painters have had direct contact with Mexican muralists, but they seem to have had very limited opportunity to realize murals in Canada. In general, Mexico as a travel destiny for Canadian professional and amateur artists seems to have gained popularity throughout the 1950s and 60s.

2. State-funding of the arts. In the mid-1950s a series of articles by one of the most influential Canadian art historians at the time, Donald W. Buchanan, linked the admiration for muralism to a comparison between Mexican and Canadian state art-funding policies. He especially praised the contemporary architecture-related monumental art works realized at the new *Ciudad Universitaria* in Mexico City. This and possibly a memory of the New Deal art funding politics in the 1930s USA, might have influenced the discussions in Canada to create a better public art-funding system, realized in 1957 with the creation of the Canada Council for the Arts. An important aspect in Buchanan's writings is the recognition of architecture, art and design as agents of national outside representation.

3. Modern architecture and abstract murals. In Canadian Art magazine articles of the mid-1950s about architecture and abstract murals in Vancouver, traditional Northwest Coast indigenous art is acknowledged as one major impulse on the contemporary Vancouver art movement, another being Jack Shadbolt's moves towards abstraction and his "vital energy [...] [which] he owes more than a little to his early contacts with West Coast Indian art and with Emily Carr" (Hubbard 1955: 99). The late 1950s and the 1960s in Canada see an increasing interest in architecture and design, culminating in the extraordinary number of projects finished for the year 1967. In the same time period aboriginal artists start to gain presence as contemporary art makers in the Canadian art market – Inuit artists as early as in the 1950s, Northwest Coast artists and Woodland artists in the 1960s. Abstraction has opened up a language which facilitated dialogue.

4. Appreciation of Mexican crafts and museums. Canadian accounts of witnessing mural painting in the 1950s and 1960s in Mexico itself sound rather disappointed compared to the excitement it had inspired in earlier decades (comp. Buchanan 1953a; Cutler 1966), and mirror the changing political, economic and artistic climate in Mexico. Mexico still impressed Canadian visitors though with its modern architecture, architecture-related reliefs, sculpture and crafts as well as the estimation of pre-Columbian art. The influence in these fields on Canadian artists, especially sculptors, of the 1950s and 1960s can be considered quite strong. Equally strong might have been the recognition of the aesthetics and identity politics involved in museum culture and architecture and the preservation of indigenous crafts: "The recently-opened national Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, awe-inspiring in its imaginative daring", writes May Ebbitt Cutler in 1966. Praising the

rich native handicrafts in Mexico which "go on as they have for centuries in village industries" as well as the "fantastic richness of the Mayan and Aztec art" she concludes: "No Canadian who has not seen it can imagine the extent to which it has been reclaimed and preserved in museums, and on original sites throughout Mexico" (Cutler 1966: 26).

5. Expo '67. The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67 provided for the first time in Canadian history aboriginal people with the public "opportunity of telling their story in their own way",[13] and the exterior design of the pavilion grew out of a collaboration of Indigenous artists which had not occurred in Canada on this scale prior to 1967. The visitors appreciated the pavilion and, in the words of Tom Hill, the project brought "a sense of power of the artist, people all of a sudden realized what they could do, as artists, to communicate ideas" (Phillips & Brydon 2011: 46). According to Phillips and Brydon, the pavilion had sparked further requests for information about contemporary aboriginal people in Canada and

> [...]the pavilion's success was probably an important stimulus both for [...] [the government's] strong support of contemporary Indian art in subsequent years and for its retention of the model of community consultation that the pavilion's organizers had pioneered" (Phillips & Brydon 2011: 46).

The revalorization of aboriginal history in the 1970s in Canada resulted amongst many other artistic projects in the commissioning of a mural size acrylic painting by Daphne Odjig for the National Museum of Man (later the Canadian Museum of Civilization). Odjig's "The Indian in Transition" (1978) (Figure 10) – according to indigenous curator Bonnie Devine "very much in the tradition of the muralists championing political and social change" – depicts history and contemporary issues of First Nations communities and "tells of the survival and rebirth of a culture" (Devine 2008).

While state-organized indigenism in Mexico as a growing paternalistic phenomenon can be juxtaposed to a development towards what will be called *indianidad* as the voicing of indigenous self-representation since the 1960s (comp. Kastl 1998), a strong process of indigenous self-representation started to happen in Canada in the late 1960s as well. Some decades later aboriginal art scholars and curators stress the integral role that indigenous artists played in this process of self-representation in their contributions to the Canadian 'mainstream' art discourse.

13 Report of R.F. Battle, Assistant Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, quoted in Phillips & Brydon (2011: 46).

Figure 9. Daphne Odjig: "The Indian in Transition" (1978), acrylic on canvas, 2,5 x 8,3m, Canadian Museum of Civilization (photo: Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization).

References cited

Aboriginal Curatorial Collective
2011 *Program of Ahzhekewada (Let us look back)* – Symposium. <http://www.aboriginalcuratorialcollective.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ACC-OCADU-Conference-Ahzhekewada-Program.pdf> (23.01. 2015).

artscanada
1967 No. 108, Special Issue: Canada at Expo.

Berman, Greta
1980 Amerika als Epos. Wandmalerei im Regierungsauftrag. In: *America. Traum und Depression. 1920/40*. Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, 361-377.

Bieler, André
1951/1052 Mural of the Saguenay. *Canadian Art* 9(2): 70-71.

Bill Reid Foundation
n.d. <http://www.billreidfoundation.ca> (10.05.2015).

Boux, René
1953 Contemporary mural painting from Western Canada. *Canadian Art* 11(1): 25-28.

Braun, Barbara
1993 *Pre-Columbian art in the Post-Columbian world.* New York: Harry. N. Abrams.

Buchanan, Donald W.
1953a New murals and mosaics in Mexico. *Canadian Art* 10(2): 51-58.
1953b New murals in Canada. *Canadian Art* 10(2): 64-66.
1957 Best foot forward in Brussels. *Canadian Art* 14(2): 64-67.

Canadian Art
1960 No. 17(6), Special issue on architecture and allied arts.

Cosgrove, Stanley & Robert Ayre
1949-50 Conversation about Orozco. *Canadian Art* 7(2): 60-66.

Crosby, Marcia
2004 Haidas, human beings and other myths. In: Duffek, Karen & Charlotte Townsend-Gault (eds.): *Bill Reid and beyond. Expanding on modern native art*. Vancouver/Toronto/Seattle: Douglas & McIntyre/University of Washington Press, 108-130.

Cutler, May Ebbitt
1966 Mexico as our artists find it. *Canadian Art* 23(3): 26-29/50.

De Long, Lea Rosson & Gregg. R. Narber
1982 *A catalog of new deal mural projects in Iowa. Library of Congress Catalogue Curd Nr. 82-90609*, Des Moines, Iowa: L. R. De Long.

Devine, Bonnie (ed.)
2007 *Selected proceedings of witness. A symposium on the Woodland school of painters.* Sudbury, Ontario. <http://www.aboriginalcuratorialcollective.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ACC-witness.pdf> (14.10.2014).
2008 *Looking at Daphne Odjig.* Exhibition Leaflet. Kamloops: Kamloops Art Gallery.

Duffek, Karen & Charlotte Townsend-Gault (eds.)
2004 *Bill Reid and beyond. expanding on modern native art*. Vancouver/Toronto/Seattle: Douglas & McIntyre/University of Washington Press.

Einfeldt, Kirsten
2010 *Moderne Kunst in Mexiko. Raum, Material, und nationale Identität*. Bielefeld: transcript.

Feest, Christian F.
1991 Identitäten und Irrtümer. Indianische und moderne Kunst. In: Erdheim, Mario, Johanna Hofleitner & Joseph Albers (eds.): *Kulturen – Verwandtschaften in Geist und Form*. Wien: Galerie nächst St. Stephan, 131-148.

Gilbeaut, Serge
1983 *How New York stole the idea of modern art. Abstract expressionism, freedom and the Cold War*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hawthorn, Audrey E.
1955 The story behind our cover. *Canadian Art* 12(3): 112.

Helfenstein, Josef & Henriette Mentha (eds.)
1998 *Josef und Anni Albers. Europa und Amerika. Künstlerpaare – Künstlerfreunde*. Bern/Köln: Kunstmuseum Bern/DuMont.

Hill, Tom
1989 Beyond history. In: Hill, Tom & Karen Duffek (eds.): *Beyond History*. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 5-15.

Hubbard, Robert Hamilton
1955 A climate for the arts. *Canadian Art* 12(3): 99-105.

Kastl, Rebecca Pilar
1998 *Vom ethnologischen Indigenismus zum Indianismus. Eine Betrachtung des Paradigmenwechsels am mexikanischen Beispiel*. Master thesis, Philipps-Universität Marburg.

Lucie-Smith, Edward
1997 *Die Kunst Lateinamerikas im 20. Jahrhundert*. München: Lichtenberg. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996

Martin, Lee-Ann
2010 Contemporary First Nations art since 1970: Individual practices and collective activism. In: Whitelaw, Anne, Brian Foss & Sandra Paikowsky (eds.): *The visual arts in Canada. The twentieth Century*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 370-391.

Note on artist Leonard Brooks
1951 *Canadian Art* 9(1): 40.

Note on artist Arnold Belkin
1953 *Canadian Art* 10(2): 84.

O'Connor, Francis
1980 Entwicklungsgeschichte der Projekte zur bildenden Kunst im New Deal 1933-1943. In: *America. Traum und Depression 1920/40*. Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, 452-462.

Peltier, Tom
2007 Critical issues in art education. In: Devine, Bonnie (ed.): *Selected proceedings of witness. A symposium on the Woodland school of painters.* Sudbury, Ontario. <http://www.aboriginalcuratorialcollective.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ACC-witness.pdf> (14.10.2014), 54-65.

Phillips, Ruth B. & Sherry Brydon
2011 'Arrow of truth'. The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo 67. In: Phillips, Ruth (ed.): *Museum Pieces. Toward the indigenization of Canadian museums.* Montréal/Kinston/London/Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 27-47.

Rushing, Jackson W. III
1995 *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Sioui, George E.
1970 George Clutesi. *TAWOW* 2(3): 5-6.

Todd, Loretta
2004 Beyond. In: Duffek, Karen & Charlotte Townsend-Gault (eds.): *Bill Reid and beyond. Expanding on modern native art.* Vancouver/Toronto/Seattle: Douglas & McIntyre/University of Washington Press, 281-286.

Turions, Ceyanne
2012 Ahzhekewada (Let us look back). *FUSE* 16, 2012. <http://fusemagazine.org/2012/03/35-2_turions> (28.08.2012).

Vastokas, Joan M.
1975 Bill Reid and the native renaissance. *artscanada* 198/199 (Special Issue: The artist as historian): 12-21.

Wikipedia
n.d. *Arnold Belkin* <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arnold_Belkin> (04.09.2012).
n.d. *British Columbia Parliament Buildings* <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Columbia_Parliament_Buildings#Mural_controversy> (28.08.2012).